wested of the security which is the essence of peace, and unaccompanied by that cessation of expenditure which cought to follow the termination of a war.

According to the o'ner plan proposed by Russis, by which the Straits were to be conced, while Russis was to remain at liberty to maintain an untimited naval force in the Brack See, there snight at all times have been in that see a Russian force equipped for war, and available for a a sudden descent on the capital of the Turkish empire, keeping alive the apprehensions of the Porte and giving constant anxiety to Europe. This scheme would have equally imposed upon the Western Powers the necessity of maintaining in the Meditorraneau a force sufficient at all times to hasten to the protection of the Turkish empire, at any moment when the Porte might require its assistance.

all times to hasten to the protection of the Turkish empire, at any moment when the Porte might require its assistance.

Her Majesty's government would appeal to what passed in the twelfth conference, as recluded in the protocolis, as evidence to show how well-founded was the determination of the Western Powers to make on the essation of the preponderance of Russia to the Birk Sea, as stone othering any real security for Turkey and for Europe against any ulterior desugns on the part of that aggressive Power; for in that conference the plenipotentiaries of Russia insisted on substituting, on the part of Russia, a nerely moral for a material guarantee of the territorial integrity and independence of the Turkish empire, and truey refused to be parties to an engagement which the other Powers were prepared to contract, not only that they should themselves respect, but also that they should cause, and, in case of need, by force compel, that intependence and that territorial integrity to be respected by others.

The refusal of the Russian Plenipotentiaries to acquirece be any arrangement by which the objects contemplated by the third point could be effectually secured, recessarily interrupted the conference; and, accordingly, the fourth point cil not come formally under discassion. The interest which England and France have uniformly taken in the weifare of the Christian subjects of the Sultan is, however, a sufficient guarantee as to the spirit in which the two Powers would have entered upon the discussion of the fourth point; and, though circumstances beyond the central of those Powers closed the door against that discussion, it is with no small satisfaction they have seen that, since the commencement of the war, and since the interference of Russia in Turkish affairs bus bees made to cease, the Sultan has continued to give effect to his benevation intentions in favor of his Christian subjects, whose condition has effaite been materially improved by the wise and spoutaneous action of their own sovereign.

effect to his benevolent intentions in favor of his Christian subjects, whose condition has of late been materfally improved by the wise and spoutaneous action of their own sovereign.

I cannot, however, wholly pass over an observation which fell from the Russian Plenipotentiary, and which as recorded in the protocol of the sighth conference, that the question involved in the fourth point was one of conference and not of policy.

It would, indeed, have been fortunate for Europe if this plea of conscience had not been used as an instrument for estroying tee political independence of furkey.

By the treaty of Kainardji, it is provided that the Sultan shall protect the Christian religion and its churches; and it was upon a complete misinterpretation of this streaty, but without oven an allegation that its stipulations had been violated, that Russia claimed a right of interference between the Sultan and 10,000,000 of the Sultan's christian subjects. If the claim had been yielded to, and it agreat wrong had thus been perpetrated, whe authority of the Sultan within his own dominous would, in a great degree, have been transferred to a foreign Power, and an important step would have been taken towards the overthrow of the Turkish empire and the establishment of Russian supremney on its rains.

Europe, then, is indebted to the timely and energetic interference of the Western Powers for its preservation from the disastrous consequences with which such a satisfatophe must inevitably nave been followed.

The Conferences of visants are now closed, under circumstances which preclude all speculation as to the period at which negotiations; are while seeking to provise for the security, the welfare and the happiness of the people of Wallachia, Moldavia and Servia, and to insure the recoved of the obstructions which have rendered the navigation of the Danube difficant and precarious, they will neglect no means of obtaining for the Turkish empire, and for Europe at large, surfision it at the object of the present way to avert.

I

RUSSIA'S REPLY TO THE GERMAN POWERS. At the same time, Russia, in a note in reply to diplo-matic approaches from the German Powers, defined her position still more clearly, and explained the grounds of

her refusal to come to terms :--

THE PEACE PROPOSITIONS. In August, 1854, Austria, as mediator, proposed the following terms as a basis of negotiation:—

following terms as a basis of negotiation:

THE FOUR GUARANTEES.

In order more exactly to define the sense which their governments attach to each of the principles contained in the four articles, but receiving to themselves as they have always done, the right of making such other special conditions as any, to addition to the four guarantees, se by them deemed necessary for the general interest of Europe, and for preventing the recurrence of the present complications, the representatives of Austria, France, and Great Britain do declare:

1. Their governments, being of accord that it is necessary to abolish the exclusive protectorate exercised by Russia over Moldavia, Wallachia and Servia, and in future to place under the collective guarantee of the five Fowers the privileges secured by the Sultans to those provinces, as dependencies of their empire, have agreed and deagned the Forte, searing reference to the said provinces can be in force when peace is concluded, and that the arrangements to be made in respect to them shall ultimatery be such as to be in full and entire accordance with the rights of the enzemin Fower, with those of the three Principalities, and with the general interests of Europe.

2. In order to give to the free navigation of the Danube

The above declined by Russia, the Russian plenipotontiaries at Vienna proposed the following in their place:—

1. Abolition of the exclutive protestorate of Russia in
Moldavia and Wallachia, the privileges recognized to
these provinces by the Suitan being placed under the
guarantees of the five Powers.

2. Free navigation of the Danube, according to the
principles established by the acts of the Congress of Vierna, in the article on fluvial communications. Control
of a mixed commission, which would be invested with the
necessary powers to destroy the obstacles existing at its
mouths, or which might at a later period be formed
there.

3. Revision of the treats of the 18th July 18th has a

mouths, or which might at a later period be formed there.

3. Revision of the treaty of the 15th July, 1841, to attach more completely the existence of the Ottoman Rempte to the balance of Earope, 1 do not refuse to come to an understanding in formal conferences for peace, on the means which the three courts may propose to put an end to what they call the prependerance of Russia in the Black Sea, on condition that, in the thoice of those means, there to make one of a nature to infringe upon the rights of socretarity of my argust master on his own territory.

4. A collective guarantee of the five I owners (ambatitude for the exclusive patronage possessed hitherto by some of them) for the conscration and observance of the religious privileges of the effects of their and communities, without distinction of the solemn promise made in the face of the world, by the great Christian Powers shall be a solious and conscientious work, and that the protection promised shall be efficacious, and not a vain word. In the course of the decase at Vienna, however, the flussian plemjotentiaries abandoned the first two of these points, and adopted the original propositions of

these points, and adopted the original propositions of Austria. As they adhered firmly to the third and tourth the conferences broke up, as already mentioned in the diplomatic notes.

AUSTRIA'S LAST PROPOSITIONS. The next step was the tender of new propositions by Austria through the Count Valentine Esterhazy, in the month of January last. They are as follows:-

the month of January last. They are as follows:—

I—DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.

Complete abolition of the Russian protectorate. The Danubian Principalities shall receive an organization conformable to their wishes, to their wants, to their interests; and this new organization, respecting which the population is-if will be consulted, shall be recognized by the contracting Powers, and sanctioned by the Salitan as emanating from his sovereign initiative. No State shall be able, under any pretext whatever, under any form of protectorate, to interfere in the question of the internal administration of the Principalities; they shall adopt a ceinititive permanent system, demanded by their geographical position, and no impediment can be made to their fortilying, in the interest of their salety, in such manner as they may deem advisable, their territory against foreign aggression.

In exchange for the strong places and territories occupied by the allied armies, Russia consents to a restification of her frontier with Turkey in Europe, it would commence in the vicinity of Chotym, follow the line of the mountains, which extend in a southeasterly direction, and terminate at Lake Sasik. The inner (trace) shall be definitively regulated by the general treaty, and the conceded territory would return to the Principalities and to the succession of the Provise and its months shall be

othe suscenity of the Ports.

II.—DANUBE.

The freedom of the Danube and its mouths shall be efficaciously assured by European institutions, in which the contracting fowers shall be equally represented, except the purticular positions of the lords of the soil on the banks (des reveration), which shall be regulated upon the principles established by the act of the Congress of Vienna as regards the navigation of rivers. Each of the contracting Powers shall have the right to keep one or two small vessels stationed at the mouths of the river, destined to assure the execution of the regulations relative to the freedom of the Danube.

destined to aware the execution of the regulations relative to the freedom of the Danube.

III.—NEUTRALIZATION OF THE BLACK SEA.

This sea shall be open to merchant vessels—closed to war navies (marine smillaire). Consequently no navial military arsenuls shall be created or maintained there. The protection of the commercial and maritime interests of all nations shall be assured in the respective ports of the Black Sea, by the establishment of institutions conformable to international law, and to the customs sanctioned in such matters. The two Powers which hold the coast engage themselves to maintain only the number of light vessels of a tixed force, necessary for their coast service. This convention, concluded separately between these two Powers, shall form part as an annex of the general treaty after receiving the approval of the coatacting parties. This separate convention cannot be annulled or modified without the consent of toe signitaries of the general treaty. The closing of the Straits will admit the exception applicable to the stationary vessels mentioned in the preceding article.

IV.—CHRISTIAN SUBJECTS OF THE PORTE.

IV .- CHRISTIAN SUBJECTS OF THE PORTE.

respectate bersed thereto.

The belligerent Powers reserve to themselves the right which appertures to them of producing in a Euroscan interest, special conditions over and above the four guarantees.

THE CZAR'S REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS.

The Czar's first impulse, as it seems, was to reject them. This is the statement of that well informed paper the Lendon Post on January 24. It say:

We can state with confidence that the Russian reply to the Au-tran ultimatum, has been recovered at Vienna. Russian rejects the second clause of the first proposal, via: the "neculestion of hor frontier with Turkey."

Bits a so rijec a the fifth prognal by which a right of preducing special conditions to reserve to the bingreent lowers, and in write of which they would demand the

REIGNS.
THE CZAR ALBEANDER,
this accession, issued the following manifests, to ex-

On his accession, issued the following manifeste, to explain his purposes and policy:—

By the grace of God, we, Alexander H., Emperir and Autocrat of all the itussias, king of Perand, & i., &c., To all our faithful subjects make kin win as follows:—

It has pleased the Afmighty, in his insecutable designs, o indice on us all a blow as terrible as it was unexpected. After a short but seriess illosss, which, during the last low days developed their with unbeard of rapidity, our we'll below: hinner the Emperor Nicholas Pautotich, dien the cylon in the emperor in the subject.

We, submitting with resignation to the impenetrable views of Divine Provi ence, and seem for domination in it and only look to it allows for the arreag heccessary to support the loss waden has now been imposed on us. In the same way as the well believed parent, whose loss we depline, devoted all his efforts and every mounts of his lie to the tabors and corres called for by the we fare at his analysis, we also, at this painful but he took and soldern in most, is ascending our hereofterly throme of the empire of fusias, as well as of the kingdom of Poland and of the grad duchy of Finland, which are inseparable from it take, in the foce of the invisiols God, always present at our site, the solumn engagement to never have any other object in view than he property of our course. Hay Provi-

rope.

To recure the liberty of wership and the prespectly of the Christian population in the East, without distinction of the ritual professed.

To place the rights of the Principalities under a collec-

tive guarantee.

To insure the free navigation of the Danube in favor of

To insure the free navigation of the Danube in favor of the commerce of all nations.

To terminatifithe rivalries of the great Powers in the Fast in order to prevent a repetition of tresh complications, and

Firsaly, to arrange with the said Powers for revising the treaty by which they acknowledged the principle of closing the Bardanelles and the Emphorus, so as to arrive at a transaction honorable alike to all parties.

A peace founded on such bases, by putting an end to the calemities of war, would call down on the new reaga the benediction of all nations.

Russia, however, as profoundly sensible, and all Europe will acknowledge that any hopes for the re-establishment of peace must be van should the conditions to be negoticated exceed those just boundaries within which the sontineent of the dignity of the crown has irrevocably confined the resolutions of our august revereign.

The Emperor will calmly await the manifestation of the neglig views of those cohiets whose duty it is, in orneer with Russia, to resolve a question fraught with the general interests of Christendom. Our august monarch awaits this serious deliberation is a sin nere spirit of concert.

Such are the views which I express to you in the name

the general interests of Christendom. Our august monarch awaits this serious deboeration in a sin ser spirit of
cencord.

Such are the views which I express to you in the name
and by order of H. M. The general mistructions you
have received will prescribe the path you are to follow as
to any direct or indirect communication with the government to which you are accredited.

The Emperor, on confurning you in the post which you
received through the good will of his august father, relies on your zeal and idelity.

It is his intention that you testify on this occasion,
both by your conduct and language, the loyalty with
which Russia o serves the obligation arising from the
faith of treaties, her constent desire to live on an amicable tooting with all friendly and allied Powers, and finally
her respect for the mylobolity of the rights of every
State, as also her firm resolution to maintain and cause
to be respected those rights which birthe Providence has
comitted to the Emperor, by making him the guardian
and protector of the national honor of his country.

You are invited to acquaint the government where you
have had the honor to represent the Emperor Nicholas,
of glerious and venerated memory, with the present despatch.

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON expressed his views in the following speech at the close

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

expressed his views in the following speech at the close of the Paris Exhibition:—

Gentlemen—The exhibition which is about to close offers a grand spectacle to the world. During a serious war, from all points of the universe the men most distinguished in sciences, arts and industry have flocked to Paris to exhibit their productions. Tost concourse, under such circumstances, is owing. I trust, to that general coaviction that the war thus underbase only menaced those who had provided it, that it was prosecuted in the interest of all, and that Europe, so far from secing in it a danger for the future, considers it rather as a pedge of independence and security. Nevertheless, at the sight of so many wonders exposed before our eyes, the first impression felt is a desire for peace. Peace, alone, in fact, can develope still more shose remarkable productions of human intelligence. You must accordingly all desire, as I do, the speedy conclusion of a durable peace. But in order to be durable it must distinctly solve the question which caused the war to be undertaken. That it may be speedly concluded Europe must declare their, for without the pressure of general opinion struggles; between great Powers threaten to be produnged; whilst, on the contrary, if Europe once determines on declaring who is read and who is wrong, it will be a great tep manutare and the studies. At this present period of civilination the successes of armies, however brilliant they may be, are only temporary, and it is demiritively public opinion that always gains the last victory. You, then, who all believe that the progress of the agriculture, industry and commerce of one nation contributes to the welfare of all the others, and that the more mutual relations are multiplied, the more matual rejudices tend to disappear, tell your fellow citisens on your return to your country that France bas no hatred for any nation, and that she sympathiese with all those who wish, as she does, for the triumph of right and justice. Tell them tha

NAPOLEONIC VIEWS OF AUSTRIA. A further stream or light was thrown on the feelings of the Emperor by the famous pamphlet published at Brussole by a general officer, who is popularly supposed to b

condition, as we have already said, it ought to have peen

Her schesion was made on this condition—and on this condition, as we have stready said, it ought to have been inscreptable.

And yet it was accepted.

The Emperor Napoleon III. held particularly to the Austrian alliance; he had particularly at hear; as we have already established, to cause himself to be recognized and accepted as peer said ally, by the last descendant of the assign thouse of Hapsburg.

To an ive at this end, the Emperor Napoleon III. was quite ready to saniface the principle in the name of which he had taken up arms, and to transform the atrife of the weak sgainst the strong, of the oppressed against the oppressed, but a condition of sovereigns, tote a conflict of preponderance and of authority. He attached much more importance to a powerful and considerable alliance, the work of his personal genius, than to a triumph more apid and less baradeus, which might have been only the work of war and of chance.

Already he had obtained the alliance of England, and this public and solemn recognition of the Empire by direct living, the coul of the old coalitious against France, was an innerne success. With the support of this ally, france might draw the sword without old teurope protesting, and centing tited menaced by projects of conquest raturally attributed to the heir of the name and fortune of Najoleon the First. From the moment in which the finglish uniform mighted in our rease, the moderates in and justice of our cause became incontestible, even to the most prejudiced minds.

But that was not sufficient. The alliance of Austria was still accessary—necesary accessary as cellance the defection of

and justice of our cause became incontestible, even to the most prejudiced anims.

But that was not sufficient. The alliance of Austria was still accessary—necessary to throw to the Czar as a defiance the defection of the aily on whom he had the most right to calculate; it was necessary to throw to the Czar as a defiance to tage to these, the was necessary that Europe should be able to say to these, the was necessary that Europe should be able to say to these, the was necessary that Europe should be able to say to these, the desire of Sicolass the First, and these laws she has trodden under foot for the sake of associating hersel with the fortune and the genius of Aspolson the Phird.

From the treaty of the Zas June have sprung all the disasters experienced by the armies of France and England, in the generous strife in which they mad engaged against Russia in the name of right, of justice, of the independence of Turkey and the Horry of Europe.

This treaty is too well known to render it necessary for us to place its exit under the eyes of our readers.

By this treaty the Cabinet of Vienna satisfied its self love by proving to the Czar that it was determined to act without aim, and if need be, against him. It gave at the same time a satisfaction to the Western Powers and prevented the attempts which they might have encurraged, or at least tolerased in Italy. But by this same treaty, the Cabinet of Vienna closed against the Angio-Franchings the route of Moido-Wallachia and of Bessarabia.

While keeping from its Hungerian frontiers every revolutionary menace—that which constituted a great advantage to its profit—it made: Russia participate in the benefit of its patific intervention, and permitted her to concentrate her forces upon whatever point we might think fit to menace. While securing by this proof of good will those of its presessions which contained the most insurrectionary elements, it erested between us and the Russians a sort of Chinese wall, under whose shelter the latter might direct their efforts on a

The actually understood on the troate of the arms. I would be seen and leaves and considerable, and to give a small leave to the arms is indescribable. Prince Napoleco maniferth due most lively indignation at it. In a familiar conversation with one of his friends, colonis of one of the regiments of his division, who afterwards had a different with the Marshal, General Resquet made use of the expression, "treasen,"

Coneral Canrobert himself, who had watched the system of diplomacy, expressed his displeasure at it. The Turks actually understood nothing of it. The English were silent, and did not express their opinion, that being their military custom. General Searlett, who was spoken to on the subject, saluted his interrogator coldly, under presence of urgent business. It was useless to interrogate on this point Lord Regian and the Juke of Comoridge; they would not have replied to it. Marshal 4: Armand was radiant with joy. It might have been said, from the satisfaction which he manuscted, that the deplorable treaty was had own work. He considerable deschild Pacha upon it, and renewed to M. de bruck the felectivations which he had aiready presented to him on the attitude, more and more defined, of his government.

THE PRIVATE WISHES OF THE EMPEROR Finally, still more information with regard to the Emperor's views or those of his Court, may be derived from a careful perusal of the other famous pamphlet, which appeared in Paris a few weeks ago, and recommended a European Congress. It was said to be from the per of Drouyn de l'Huys, and to have received the sane lou of

According as the probabilities of a pacific solution as-sume greate consistency, certain organs of his English press are endeavoring by irritating articles to indeager the ethect of the sage resolutions and of the caim acti-tude of the alited givernments.

In mirrepresenting the firm and the character of a do-nament which it is but of the omisist parties to respect soret, a risk is run of offending the Power whice Europe has applied to for concessions, when the interest of all

allies could only 'hink of moreasi g their forces on the lede of battle. In pu santog, at the pitce of er ormans assistinces, a result which would turn to the advantage of all, they could not admit that neutrality had a useful mission to fulfil.

But as England, France, Turkey and Sardinia had suffect for the task, and as the proposed aim was at ainst, the prairies of neutrals could be looked at in a more favoracle light.

It was then that the Emperor, making a selemu apparatus of the present of the task and as the proposed all the prairies.

Amplitions will be restrained and men's minds reviviéed, above all, over the Powers will be suspended a suprems authority, whole will emoble the sacrifices, give in moderation the character of magnanisity, impose a salutary restraint on religious or national exigencies, over-excised by the context and render to each government a perfect by the context and render to each government a perfect by the context and render to each government a perfect by the context and render to each government a perfect of the context of the process of regotiations the propositions carried to St. Fetershoug by Count Esterhary, sine were to propose to deliberate on them not only in a simple conference, but in an astembly of all the suvereigns, and after solemn and sineer celelarations on the origin, in the character, and the results of the centext.

Such an overture would be a more certain in heavion of the pactic cispections of the Cabinat of St. Fetershought and the context of the pactic cispections of the Cabinat of St. Fetershought and the context of the pactic cispections of the Cabinat of St. Fetershought and the context of the pactic cispections of the Cabinat of St. Fetershought and the context of the pactic cispections of the Cabinat of St. Fetershought and the context of the pactic cispections of the Cabinat of St. Fetershought and the context of the pactic cispections of the Cabinat of St. Fetershought and the pactic cispections of the Cabinat of St. Fetershought and the context of the pactic cispections of the Cabinat of St. Fetershought and the cispection of the Cabinat of St. Fetershought and the cispection of the context the cispection of the cispe

Were Russia to accept those views, and the negati-tions of the cabinets to adopt at once inspirations liberal; were a congress to meet with such sentimes of fratkness and honor, were the conscience of sw regns would cooperate with the tainets of cipomatic to reconstruct with solidity and justice the equilibria of Europe, who would dare to doubt a success?

you have yout prometion, and I shall have no opportunity of distinguishing myself more; for you and I, rely upon it, have witnessed the last war that will ever take place in Europe." Now, I told you there were take place in Europe." Now, I told you there year pixty interesting things in my evening vast of youngley. The great attraction was that M de Seebach much was present, and stayed a good hour and a belt. That he was surrounded by every one, taired at by every one, and gaped at on all hands, I need not tell you; neither need I say that he was more than usually close and dicreet barely allowing a word to escape his lips. Once, however, and with one person, he allowed himself to enter into what might be termed a conversation, ejesking, however, chiefly of the Czar. He represented the latter as genuinely precessived with the subjects pounted out in M. de Nesrelrece's circular, said he was seriously bent upon reforms of the most comprehensive kinds in the interior, and that peace was, of course, his dearest wish, if it eak to be had undout any hamiliation to Russia. One remark of M. de Seebach' deserved notice. A member of a great financial enterprise in France, whom i do not feel sutherized to designate more clearly, a-ked him with more frankness, perhaps, than growly repited. It am perfectly convinced that we have it alreacy,"—(an imperceptible pause)—"M thuse who treat with Russia varily seish it." Whe ther this phrase stauck me more than it deserved to do, I cannot of course say, but it did strike me very much. Another thing, too, I could not avon remarking, because I was, I confess, on the look out for it:—M de Seebach did not mention either the name of England or of Austria, but spile of the whole affeir at though in fact France and Russia worth confess, on the look out for it:—M de Seebach did not mention either the name of England or of Austria, but spile of the whole affeir at though in fact France and Russia worth confess, on the look out for it:—M de Seebach did not mention either the name of England

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